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ADDRESS  
OF *Brian McClenahan*  
GEORGE HARVEY  
AT THE  
175<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY DINNER  
OF THE  
ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY  
OF  
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA  
NOVEMBER 30, 1904



PRINTED FOR THE ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY  
OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA





E. B. DOWD

Rev. R. W. HENRY, D.D.

J. A. GORDON



F. G. LATHAM

ALEX. W. MARSHALL

J. B. CHISOLM



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THE  
OFFICERS OF  
THE ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY

ALEX. W. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT.	J. A. GORDON, SEC'Y.
F. S. LATHAM, 1ST VICE-PRES.	R. B. DOWIE, TREAS.
J. B. CHISOLM, 2ND VICE-PRES.	REV. R. WILSON, D.D., CHAPLAIN.

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# 175<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF THE ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON

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## APPROACH OF THE SCOTS

MUSIC. "*The Campbells are coming.*"

"A' ye whom social pleasure charms,  
Whose hearts the tide o' kindness warms,  
Who hold your being on the terms  
'Each aid the others,'  
Come to my bow, come to my arms,  
My friends, my brothers."—BURNS.

## Menu

BLUE POINTS

GREEN TURTLE SOUP

SALTED ALMONDS

STEAMED FINNIAN HADDIS

NEW IRISH POTATOES

CELERY

SCOTCH STYLE

OLIVES

BUTTER SAUCE

HAGGIS:—"Frac Auld Scotland, Meg Dod's Style."

"Fair fa' your honest sonsie face:  
Weel are ye worthy o' a grace  
As lang's my arm."

WEE MACGREGOR SCOTCH OAT CAKES

FILET DE BŒUF, BORDELAISE

SALMI OF DUCK

ASPARAGUS TIPS

CAROLINA RICE

JELLY

YOUNG ONIONS

## Scotch Punch

CAROLINA QUAIL

SCOTCH KALE WITH SHRIMP SALAD

ST. ANDREW'S PLUM PUDDING

MACARON ICE-CREAM

HARD AND BRANDY SAUCE

GÂTEAUX ASSORTIE

NUTS

FRUIT

RAISINS

ROQUEFORT

COFFEE

PETITS POIS

BISCUIT

CRACKERS

PASSING OF THE SNUFF MULLS BY THE STEWARDS

"When they talked of their Raphacks, Correggios and stuff,  
He shifted his trumpet and only took snuff."—GOLDSMITH.

GIFT

MRS. WOODROW WILSON  
NOV. 23, 1939

Presentation of a Portrait of Ex-President, Mitchell King.

Reading of the Annual Charge and Welcome, By J. BACHAM CHISOLM, M. D.,  
2nd Vice-President.

MUSIC: "Within a Mile of Edinboro' Town."

## Trusts

1. "THE DAY WE CELEBRATE," with a Scotch Yankee in our Midst.

GEORGE HARVEY.

MUSIC: "Scots Wha' ha' with Wallace Bled."

2. "KING EDWARD VII." REV. W. H. BOWERS, D.D., A Loyal Subject.

*"An' since I'm here I'll no neglect  
In loyal true affection,  
To pay the King with due respect  
My fealty and subjection,  
This great birthday."—BURNS.*

MUSIC: "God Save the King."

3. "THE UNITED STATES" - - Colonel L. V. CAZIARC, U. S. A.

MUSIC: The Star-Spangled Banner."

4. "THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA" - Governor D. C. HEYWARD.

MUSIC: "Dixie."

5. "CITY OF CHARLESTON" - F. Q. O'NEILL, Esq., Mayor Pro Tem,

MUSIC "Bonnie Blue Flag."

AND LET US NOT FORGET

"AULD LANG SYNE" - - - BY MEMBERS AND GUESTS.

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#### FINAL ADMONITION

*"Noo, Sandy, y'r foremaist, an' mind, there's a turn in the stair,  
Your airm, Mac, that's a man."*—HOGG.







GEORGE HARVEY

## ADDRESS OF GEORGE HARVEY

Introduced by Major JOHN C. HEMPHILL, Mr. HARVEY,  
after a few introductory remarks, spoke as follows:

I have not come here to talk about Scotchmen nor about Yankees, nor about any similar indigestible securities that, in the language of the toast to which I respond, may linger in your midst. The glorious past of not only the Scotch but the descendants of the Scotch is vivid with inspiration. The future of such a race whose sturdy qualities have evoked the admiration of all mankind, and we trust have won the sympathetic respect of an all-wise Providence, is a topic capable of graphic and prophetic portrayal. To others, however, better equipped with knowledge of history and more distinctively blessed with the gift of omniscience, I leave these pleasing tasks. I have come here in response to your most gracious and wholly unrestricted invitation with the deliberate purpose of talking politics.

It is of the present, the sentient, throbbing present, surcharged with dread of evil and hope of good that I, a Scotch Yankee, wish to speak to you, my cousins by lineage and my brothers by sympathy. I have a right to address a Southern audience. The first of my ancestors to arrive in this country landed in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. The last of my ancestors born in another country came from Scotland in the nineteenth century. My two grandfathers hewed out their homes in the wilderness of Vermont nearly a hundred years ago. In those days, the least of evils to be apprehended was race suicide, and many were the sons and grandsons to whom fell the duty and the honor of sustaining the beliefs and maintaining the traditions of those earnest men. The community was less narrow socially than politically, but there was surely no advantage to any resident in affiliating himself with a small minority. Despite this environment and the drawbacks attendant upon it, neither of those two men nor any one of their many

descendants, to the best of my knowledge and belief, ever voted for a candidate for public office who was not a Democrat. At the outbreak of the Civil War, of my immediate ancestors living, were two grandfathers, my own father and nine uncles. They were Northern men. Not one of them had ever crossed the Mason and Dixon Line. They regarded any form of slavery with abhorrence, but not one of those twelve men ever lifted a hand against his white brother in the South. From their meagre store and from necessity, eleven of them furnished the Federal Government with the sums of money fixed for the procurement of substitutes. One uncle, perhaps the best able of the twelve to do so, absolutely refused, and chewed the cud of bitter reflection for nearly two years in the county jail. I make no boast of their action. I claim for them no credit. Whether, at that time, under those circumstances I should have done as they did, I do not know, but the facts are family history and constitute the basis of my assertion that I have an absolute and unqualified right to speak to you men of the South the words of a fraternal heart.

Whether or not it be precisely true that the darkest hour is that which immediately precedes the breaking of the dawn, it is a fact established and recognized by history that what seems at first to be an overwhelming and irremediable political disaster often proves in the end to have been not only a triumph but a blessing. Such, in my judgment, from the viewpoint of both our common country and our specific party, will be the eventuality of our recent national election. The causes which induced the great Republican majority have been variously stated. The cohesive strength of the organization, the attraction of a dashing personality, the apprehension of a disturbance of fairly satisfactory conditions, the feeling that work in the Philippines and Panama had been well begun and should be continued—each of these elements undoubtedly contributed its share to the general result. But the fundamental, underlying cause, more potent than all of these combined, was a deep-seated conviction in the minds of thinking men that the Na-



tional Democratic party has not in recent years demonstrated a capacity to govern wisely and well. And, having in mind particularly its record for the past twelve years, can we honestly deny the existence of a reasonable justification for that belief? Personally, I do not think the Democratic party has been properly equipped to govern the Nation since the Civil War. It became and still continues to be an aggregation of odds and ends, of shreds of theories and patches of practicability. Mr. Cleveland, by virtue of the universal confidence in his personal integrity and of his unsurpassed adroitness in attracting to himself all elements of dissatisfaction, from the very rich to the very poor, from the doctrinaire to the unprofessed anarchist, won two notable triumphs, but those were *his* victories, not his party's, and the ultimate effect was logical and inevitable. The organization became so weakened that it was seized with no great difficulty by a faction, which in turn made for disruption and defeat. This year control passed back to the East, an unexceptionable though uninspiring candidate was named, apparent unanimity of effort was put forth in the canvass, and overwhelming defeat ensued.

The West and the East have had their opportunities for forty years and have failed. Now what of the South? Here the Democratic party had its birth, here it produced a line of statesmen such as no nation has ever known. Of the fifteen administrations ending in 1861, all but two were Democratic, and of these thirteen terms, nine were served by Southern men and six by the founders of the party—Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe. While the South, as represented by these great men, was in the saddle, there was no suggestion of unfitness to govern. Adherence to principle, sagacity in statesmanship, conservatism in action, faithful endeavor in the interests of the entire country won and held the confidence of the people to such a degree that, through all the vicissitudes of internecine strife and an unparalleled succession of reverses at the polls, that great party survived, still lives and, please God, shall never die.

But while the East and West have alternately and with the precision of the setting sun carried the party down to defeat, what has the South been doing? You have taken whatever has been offered to you and with hardly a wry face. If free silver was tendered, you swallowed that; if the gold standard, you took that; protection or free trade, a radical or a conservative candidate, big navies or little navies, big sticks or mellow flutes, whatever grist came to your mill was accepted so long as it bore the party label. You are sometimes called and, I think, unquestionably are, in some respects a masterful and intolerant community, but was such patient bending to the yoke as this ever before exhibited by a free and enlightened people? I am aware of the local condition which gave rise to and perhaps made necessary this abdication of authority even in the councils of the party created by your ancestors, but I ask you if the time is not now at hand to come back into your own, to claim the opportunity exercised so long and so disastrously by others, to reassert the broad statesmanship of the past and to blaze the way for a return to the sturdy principles of the fathers?

Is such an achievement possible? Has the time really come for action, positive yet conservative, resolute yet wise, that may with reason be hoped to be crowned with success?

These are vital, practical questions, to be answered, not by enthusiastic intuition, but by frank, sane consideration. What then are the present circumstances? In what respects do they differ from those of the past?

In the first place, you are prosperous. Soon you will be rich. In a bare score of years the output of your mines, factories and fields, has increased more than two billions of dollars or more than trebled, you mine 66,000,000 tons of coal as against six millions in 1880, you have two hundred million dollars invested in cotton-mills instead of twenty millions, you cut and sell five times as much lumber, you support 65,000 miles of excellent railways instead of 20,000 miles of streaks of rust. The poverty-stricken South of the past has disappeared. You have taken your place by the side of the opulent East and the hus-

ting West—and your progress has been so steady, so well grounded, that it cannot fail to continue and expand. All agree that this splendid material advancement has but just begun, and yet you have already won the right to be heard with respect and to speak with the authority of the well-to-do rather than with the meekness of the poor. You had the birth and breeding; you now have the wealth, which in an Anglo-Saxon community has ever been essential to proper recognition and the full exercise of rightful prerogatives.

Let us now consider the sentimental change which has been wrought in the attitude of your neighbors towards yourselves. In the course of constant reading of Southern journals and in the exercise of too few opportunities of talking with Southern men, I find frequent resentful references to what is termed sometimes the bigotry, sometimes the unfairness, of the people who live in the Middle and New England States. Lest we forget, may it not be desirable from time to time to make enlightening contrasts? It is not so long ago that the bloody shirt was practically the sole issue in a national campaign. Even within my own recollection, and I was yet unborn when Robert E. Lee received back from the hands of General Grant the sword he had tendered him, there lives the memory of fervid and rabid speeches by Republican orators such as now nowhere from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, would be considered worthy of a man of intelligence and sensibility. The burden of the cry was invariably the necessity and the righteousness of forcing into the ballot-box the vote of the negro. The sores engendered by that great strife continued to be as poignant there as you know them to have been here. Could in reason anything except time have been expected to heal those wounds, and has not time done it? Is there not plainly observable, perhaps even more clearly to the thousands of Southern men who have found their homes in Northern communities, a new and fraternal consideration, a spirit of helpfulness in place of a feeling of vengeful reprisal? Have not facts come to be recognized as necessary to be reckoned with? Have not

conditions, misapprehended for years, sunk deep into the minds and the hearts of your fellow citizens in Northern communities?

Nearly two years ago Elihu Root, then Secretary of War, one of the three foremost statesmen of his party and a partisan of partisans, stood up before his fellow members of the Union League Club in New York, that uncompromising association which was the most conspicuous outgrowth of its kind of that great struggle for supremacy, and solemnly declared that the policy which had been adopted and pursued with vehemence, if not vindictiveness, for so many years, must be abandoned. "The country," he said, "has to face a failure of the plan which was adopted at the conclusion of the Civil War to lift the blacks from the condition in which they were left when they were freed from slavery, by conferring upon them suffrage. Their right to aspire to office under the Federal Government which was formerly unquestioned is now questioned, and it is probably but a matter of time, not so long a time, when the overwhelming sentiment of the white man will succeed in excluding the black from all the offices in the Southern States." When Mr. Root thus spoke of the overwhelming sentiment of the white man he meant, and every one of his hearers knew that he meant, the white man of the North as well as the white man of the South. Let your memories run back a score of years, or even half a score of years, and tell me if such an utterance from such a source would have been conceivable at that time. Would any man of Mr. Root's position have had the hardihood to venture it, or from a sense of profound conviction having done so, would he not have faced the certain ostracism of his party? Could he have hoped ever to aspire to an honor within the gift of that determined organization? And yet nearly two years ago what was the effect? Only the hearty applause of everybody who heard his words, indicating the universal relief felt that at last the true sentiment of the community had found an authoritative voice. The sympathetic consideration of your political brethren in the North you had long possessed, but



was not this utterance a very long step toward the full appreciation by the entire community of the difficulties involved in the solution of the most trying problem that has ever confronted the American people? Moreover, were not those memorable words borne out in fact in the recent campaign? Was there anywhere a single line written or spoken throughout the entire North and West designed to arouse slumbering prejudice and inflame forgotten passions? If not, is there any possible logical deduction except that a great change has been wrought in the minds of those whom once you considered, and who considered themselves, your enemies?

There is in the community in which I live but one disposition toward the South, and that is, not to interfere, but to help. We do not believe that your great problem of reconciling perfect justice for all with the absolute supremacy, social and political, of the white race is insoluble. We cannot believe that God in his wisdom ever placed before his civilizing, Christianizing people an obstacle which they should be incapable of removing, but equally certain and true is our sincere conviction that the sympathetic cooperation of all, and not the endeavor, however earnest and however kindly, of a portion, is essential to success. That is what we not only offer, but beg you to accept. We have no advice to give, no suggestions to make, further than to ask that you who have immediate personal responsibility shall proceed along the path of enlightenment and sternly repress any tendency, if such there be, to revert to methods which prevailed when dominant races were guilty of debasing rather than uplifting humanity. We believe that the children born within the borders of this great land, whatever their religion or color, should have equal opportunities for the acquirement of education and development of conscience and the refinement of manners and customs which follow in the wake of knowledge. We believe that life and property by whomsoever rightfully possessed should be protected by the State and that none should ever, under any circumstances, be deprived of either except by due process of law soberly and justly, though

rigorously, firmly and promptly administered. We believe that no barrier should ever be placed in the path of any human being who is earnestly striving for industrial and spiritual advantage. We believe that intelligence is easier to deal with than ignorance.

England suffers from the tyranny of trade-unionism because her aristocracy has refused education to her laborers. It is not uncommon for students of our industrial progress to predict a like fateful dominance within our own borders. That there have been manifestations of such a tendency no observant person can deny. Ours is a commercial nation; it must rise or fall with its industries. Disturbances of any kind, but especially those involving strife between labor and capital, are most to be deplored, but we have a right to feel and are justified from experience in expecting, that such difficulties will be only transitory, that the mighty force of education now making itself felt most noticeably upon both capital and labor will safeguard not only the interests of the people, but of the Republic itself. The future of this great country, sprung almost in a day from infancy to manhood and growing by leaps and bounds at a pace never known before in the history of the world, lies in our public schools. So long as they continue to be free and open to all, and so long as good-citizenship requires that the advantages thus afforded be availed of, we may look forward with more than hope, with certainty, of the ultimate triumph of righteous contentment over evil tendencies. In this aspiration there is certainly no sectionalism. It is universal and as broad as the country itself. That it animates every right-thinking man, whether of the North, South, East or West, I would not for a moment permit myself to doubt. We may differ as to methods, but if our common purpose be to ennoble mankind, we need be only considerate, one of another's honest opinions, and it is for that tolerance I plead.

I have digressed somewhat from the political proposals which I ventured at the beginning, but the digression is more apparent than real for the reason that these purposes, these aspira-

tions, are the fundamental requirements, no less of political success than of personal and public advancement. What then, speaking more practically, is the prospect of the great party founded by Jefferson, grown in the South and still upheld by four millions of loyal citizens in the North and West?

We speak of the recent Republican victory as overwhelming, and so it seemed in its first effect, but in magnitude it was by no means without precedent. The Democratic party has suffered greater reverses than this, and promptly recovered when itself became worthy and the country felt its need. Judge Parker will receive at least 133 and probably 140 votes in the electoral college. In 1840 only 60 votes were cast for the Democratic candidate, in 1864 but 21, in 1868 but 80 and in 1872 only 63. History affords no reason therefore for believing that the Democratic party is dead or is going to die, but when such an organization, through force of circumstances, becomes as I have depicted this—perhaps without full justification—an aggregation of odds and ends, shreds and patches, the work of rejuvenation must begin at the bottom and the only foundation upon which to build, if the approval of the American people is to be obtained, is a moral force. I maintain that, in the election which has just taken place, and whose general result has been regarded by many with despair, such a beginning has been made. It is not so much that many States which gave to Mr. Roosevelt a large majority, elected Democratic Governors. Similar instances, although less noticeable, are well within the memory of us all. What is significant and most significant, in this seemingly paradoxical result, is that the cause in each and every case was a popular revolt based upon moral grounds. Mr. Folk was elected Governor of Missouri upon a moral issue. Mr. Douglas's 35,000 majority in Massachusetts against 80,000 for the Republican national ticket was due to the fact that he stood for the welfare of the many as against that of the few. Mr. Johnson won in Minnesota, overcoming the enormous Republican majority of 125,000, and Mr. Toole won in Montana, because they

stood squarely for and personally embodied the principles of Thomas Jefferson. Not a whit less significant, although of less practical effect, are the facts that the Republican national candidate polled in excess of the votes for Republican candidates for Governor, in New York nearly 100,000, in Michigan 110,000, in New Jersey 20,000, in Rhode Island 15,000, in West Virginia 16,000 and in Wisconsin 75,000. They were all Republican States this year. In each of them, despite the fact that some were not successful, the Democratic candidate won a victory, and without exception it was a moral victory, a triumph of right over wrong, an indication of unwavering fidelity of the American people to the dictates of conscience.

Herein lies the lesson for the future. Henceforth let every issue be a moral issue. Let us have no further appeals or catering to any specific odds or ends or shreds or patches, and of all things let us not arouse the resentment, just or unjust, of our countrymen by refusing to recognize the personal integrity of an opponent. The Republican national success has been spoken of as sectional, and some color is given to the assertion by the fact that in my own native State of Vermont Judge Parker did not carry a single town. But it was not a sectional victory, and it was not a plutocratic victory or a success achieved by the use of money; it was Theodore Roosevelt's own personal triumph, based upon the belief that he is an honest and able man. I hold no brief for Theodore Roosevelt, the partisan. I am utterly opposed to his apparent, and I doubt not sincere, conviction that those who are most governed are the best governed. Moreover, I recognize and could point out with greater or less lucidity certain disqualifications of which I believe him to be possessed, but despite all of these, to my mind, uncommendable attributes, I do not hesitate to say that I have the utmost respect for Theodore Roosevelt, the man. That he has made many mistakes I know, you know and he knows. That he has given offence unnecessarily and without just cause, we all appreciate because it is an undeniable fact. That he regrets any such mistake that he may have made, laments any such offence he



may have given and would rejoice in the exercise of an opportunity to make all amends within his power, consistent with his own sense of duty. I, for one, do not for a moment doubt. Of all men with whom I have ever been in any way intimately acquainted, I have never known one who wanted to do right more than Theodore Roosevelt. If there is any rational basis for this judgment, which at any rate is shared by many, is there not here a call to generous minds for tolerance? Is a man never to be forgiven for one, or even two or three errors? Have we forgotten the distinction made in the Scriptural injunction between seven and seventy times seven? Cannot some mistakes, whether of temperament or judgment, be overlooked? Must absolute perfection be expected from a very human individual? Moreover, is it wise to condemn inflexibly one from whom much good may at least be hoped? If it be true that benevolent despotism has been established for a time by a vast majority of the people, is it the part of sagacious common sense to eliminate the benevolence and leave only the tyranny? "From Theodore Roosevelt," said a prominent Southern editor, while the bitterness of defeat still rested upon his spirit, "we ask no quarter and expect none." An individual expression is of little consequence and cannot be expected to bear much fruit, but I am free to say that I, for one, should feel only contempt for myself if I failed on this occasion to declare an utter lack of sympathy with what seems to me a most narrow, unnecessary and unwise defiance. There do come times when chivalric men can well afford to let bygones go, look hopefully and forbearingly to the future and act accordingly. In all fairness and kindness and righteousness, is not this one of those times? In any case, the most effective and the only way to remedy whatever, to the Democratic mind, President Roosevelt represents that is wrong, is to upbuild the Democratic party, and this cannot be accomplished if we permit an unforgiving spirit to dominate the soul of wisdom.

My friends, the Republican party is facing the most critical period in its history. Its power is so great and yet so concen-

trated that it threatens itself. President Roosevelt has pledged the accomplishment of many things and will attempt many more. None is too great to daunt that resolute spirit, none too minute to enlist his attention. We are about to behold the marvellous spectacle of one mind trying to solve all the complicated problems of nearly a hundred millions of human beings of every race, in every clime, within the short space of four years. It is indeed a strenuous undertaking. It may be crowned with success; it may not. One prediction we may venture without hesitation. The experiment will be enormously expensive. Already Secretary Morton demands \$114,000,000 immediately for the Navy, and it is only a first call at that. Merely to carry out the administration's programme, to enable it to fulfil its ante-election pledges, irrespective of the many additional benevolent thoughts that will come to mind from time to time, hundreds of millions must be had for the Philippines, Panama, irrigation, armies, subsidies, rivers, harbors, pensions—hundreds of millions more than were ever raised before. "If I had a thousand a year," was the plaintive refrain of a once popular song. "If I had a billion a year," will soon be but as a bagatelle to the actual requirements of the venerable Uncle who personifies the Nation. In this age great deeds call for great sums. Where are they to come from? Is a miracle to be wrought or are the people to feel in their sensitive pockets, well before another Presidential election, the exactions of a government of regal splendor? And may not democratic simplicity and economy some day find their preference? Is the tariff to be revised? And if so, upward or downward? We shall see. Are the trusts to be curbed effectively without restraining industrial progress? We shall see. In respect to these and the many other features of this splendid programme, they may hope. But we shall see.

One fact is certain! Whatever may be the result of the inevitable struggle between an impatient President and reluctant representatives of special interests, it behooves the Democratic party to take heed from the fate of the foolish virgins. Now

is the time and you of the South are the men to act with promptness and wisdom. You are the mainstay, the living reality of Democracy. So many of us in the North come so near being Republicans in practice and so many of us in the West come so near being Populists in theory that the leadership rightfully belongs to the only section of the party which has kept the faith without suffering contamination, and under whose direction in the past the people enjoyed their greatest growth, their widest prosperity. The time is fitting. The blight of half a century is off the South. You have your manufactures, your mines, your agriculture, your railroads, your steamships, your schools, your happy homes, your Christian spirit—you have all that we have and more, because you have our respect and sympathy to a greater degree than we have yours. We ask you to take up the ark of the covenant and bear it to victory as of old. We seek now to follow, requiring only that forbearance which is the first attribute of brotherhood. Do not, we implore, insist that we must manifest no interest in your affairs or you in ours. Your problems are our problems, your hopes our hopes, your fears our fears, and ours are yours. I appeal to you not to put up warning hands and say “Thus far but no farther,” but with the whole-hearted, trustful, fraternal and generous spirit of chivalric natures, stretch your arms away over the line and bid us welcome. “To alleviate the cares of life; to endear men to one another; and, by mutual assistance and advice, to prevent or remedy those evils which are incident to our condition”—those are the words of the founders of this, the oldest society of its honored name in the country, uttered nearly two hundred years ago. They are our words, our prayer, to you to-day. We gladly concede your right to lead; we only ask that you bear the banner of Jefferson along the broad path of tolerance and enlightenment, of progress and Christianity, of belief in man and faith in God, out of the darkness of despair of the past into the sunlight of hope for the future.

## SOME PRESS COMMENTS

### MR. GEORGE HARVEY'S ADDRESS

Responding to the toast, "A Scotch Yankee in Our Midst," Mr. George Harvey made an address at the annual banquet of the St. Andrew's Society last night, which received the closest attention of his audience, and which will not fail to interest all who may read the report of it, which is printed elsewhere in the *News and Courier* this morning. Mr. Harvey frankly avowed at the outset his purpose to leave to others the task of pronouncing the conventional eulogy suggested by the occasion. He came to Charleston to discuss with his "cousins by lineage" and his "brothers by sympathy" conditions which make the present instinct with life rather than theories, that render the past honorable and glorious. In modesty, rather than candor, Mr. Harvey defined his object to be "the deliberate purpose of talking politics." Had he said "talking patriotism" the phrase would have been more truly descriptive.

It is not our purpose at this time to consider in detail the merits or demerits of the suggestions made by Mr. Harvey. We merely desire to commend the frankness, in letter and spirit, of his address, taken as a whole. The language in which it is couched is charming, the temper which pervades it is entirely admirable, the courage of conviction and purpose which characterize it command attention and respect.

Mr. Harvey spoke for modern Americanism to modern Americans. He said in effect that the dead past of our national life should be allowed to bury its own dead. He sees no need to continue the obsequies indefinitely. He is concerned with what is, not with what might have been. Unpleasant by-gones are ever without profit as present issues. He gives the fullest credit to others; he demands the fairest consideration for himself and his own. He looks for no marvels; he expects no miracle. He is content with integrity of purpose and honest and persistent effort. He appeals from prejudices to principles. He asks credit for credit. He has no theories to spin concerning sectional grievances or animosities, real or fancied. He accepts it as axiomatic that virtue, no less than wisdom, will not die with any man or set of men; but he maintains that as among ourselves the presumption of innocence is a national duty.

To the South he gives the most generous confidence; for the North he demands credit for patriotism and intelligence. Mr. Harvey declared that all Americans "are brothers by sympathy," and that they should go to the solution of their problems steadfastly convinced of the abiding quality of this proposition. He had a message which he wished to deliver to the people of Charleston, and he accomplished his task most admirably. His address invites careful consideration, and it will bear more than casual perusal. It gives welcome assurances on behalf of the thought and life of which he is so admirable a representative. Mr. Harvey is editor of "a journal of civilization"; he is an advocate of the broadest and most intelligent American patriotism; he is a gentleman whom it is a pleasure to know as a friend and honor as a guest.—*From the Charleston News and Courier.*

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### A CALL TO THE SOUTH

That was, indeed, a notable deliverance, made last evening before the St. Andrew's Society of this city by Colonel George Harvey, the distinguished editor and publicist, but addressed to a national audience and especially to the people of the South. That it will attract wide attention is certain. That it will aid in a rational rehabilitation of the Democratic party and a restoration of the South to the political position in the national councils to the benefit of the South and the nation should be certain.

Colonel Harvey, an independent Democrat of Democratic antecedents the most pronounced, is well entitled to the right, he claims, to speak to Southern

Democrats in expectation of a sympathetic audience. That should be assured to any man who comes with fair speech from a true heart, and, we believe, is, but the sentimental consideration presented in Colonel Harvey's personality immediately commands the most open-hearted appreciation. But the message that he brings is the thing. It is a call to the South to take again the leadership of the Democratic party and restore that organization to the reality of statesmanship it was before, when the men of the South directed its ways.

No doubt we shall see some arise to ask Colonel Harvey's authority to offer the South the leadership of the Democratic party, but that will be mere carping. That his appeal is logical cannot be successfully controverted; that the idea it involves is very practical and important should readily be appreciated. The Democracy, as he well says, has become "an aggregation of odds and ends, of shreds of theories and patches of practicability," which is another way of expressing the thought that Mr. John Hay, in the course of the recent campaign, put into the phrase remarkably describing the Democracy as "a fortuitous concourse of unrelated prejudices." It is not a real force and, therefore, has not the confidence of the people in its ability to direct the affairs of the government. The South has not part in shaping its destinies because it takes none. Colonel Harvey now calls the South to lead the Democracy back to the ways of the fathers and he holds the time to be ripe for the undertaking.

The first thought that must come to sober-minded men in the South in response to this call is of the immense responsibility thus to be given for the work they may do. There is the same material for employment in statesmanship in the South to-day that there was in the great days when the South led the Democracy that administered the affairs of the government so admirably. But it is not so employed. It is now being utilized to develop and build up the industrial wealth of the South, which has been so wonderfully increased and enriched. The men in political control and representation in the South to-day are generally of an inferior quality of statesmanship. We can not offer them as the South's leaders in the great work that is proposed to be given into our hands. The first step, therefore, toward taking up the charge that would be committed to the South under the programme outlined by Colonel Harvey should be the setting in order of our own political household. This we can do and this we ought to do; and this done, the rest may easily be accomplished. But this is the most difficult part of the work. Yet the attractions of public life will be so greatly enhanced under conditions that promise a worthy engagement of political talents that the suggestion is enough to turn the thoughts of men, long aloof from such interest, toward it.

There can be no doubt that Colonel Harvey's appeal will be welcomed in the South. There has been lately a very general disposition in this section toward an assertion of the rights and interests of our people in the councils of the Democracy, which the votes of the South alone sustain in the electoral college of 1904. There can be little doubt, also, that Colonel Harvey has spoken the persuasions and desires of many men of the North of all parties, Democrats who despair of their own party recovering itself upon the uncertain footing offered it in the North and West, and Republicans who fear the evil day of their own party's arrogance, yet fear a refuge to the Democracy as now constituted.

One thing of importance and vital concern to the South in the whole question—the relations of the races. Upon this point Colonel Harvey is unequivocal. He puts an interpretation upon the speech made by Mr. Elihu Root, before the Union League Club of New York city, two years ago, and holds an appreciation of it which we have several times set forth in references to a remarkable and reassuring utterance of one of the really great men of the Republican party. The interpretation is that the men of the North are prepared to concede absolutely the righteousness and expediency of the South's policy of upholding the political supremacy of the white man, however the constitutional amendments may be read to the contrary.

The great task proposed to the South by Colonel Harvey cannot be fully undertaken in a day, but there must be, as there should be, a beginning of preparation for it.—*From the Charleston Evening Post.*

### ADVICE WORTH TAKING

George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, spoke in Charleston last night. Describing the South as the mainstay, the living reality of Democracy, he said:

"The time is fitting. The blight of half a century is off the South. You have your manufactures, your mines, your agriculture, your railroads, your steamships, your schools, your happy homes, your Christian spirit—you have all that we have and more, because you have our respect and sympathy to a greater degree than we have yours. We ask you to take up the ark of the covenant and bear it to victory as of old. We seek now to follow, requiring only that forbearance which is the first attribute of brotherhood. Do not, we implore, insist that we must manifest no interest in your affairs or you in ours. Your problems are our problems, your hopes our hopes, your fears our fears, and ours are yours. I appeal to you not to put up warning hands and say, 'Thus far but no farther,' but with the whole-hearted, trustful, fraternal, and generous spirit of chivalric natures, stretch your arms away over the line and bid us welcome."

It is in a response to the spirit of such a plea that hope for the future lies. Party proclamations have been inspired and candidates have been furnished by the East or by the West, but to the South the party has looked for a long list of States on election day, States upon which it could count to a certainty. In convention the tail has wagged the dog. In solution the Harvey proposition is that the dog shall wag the tail, which may otherwise be interpreted as meaning that the South shall come into its own. Nor will it cost the country anything for the South to forget as well as to remember. Gain instead of loss will follow if this advice be taken:

"There do come times when chivalric men can well afford to let bygones go, look hopefully and forbearingly to the future, and act accordingly. In all fairness and kindness and righteousness, is not this one of those times? In any case the most effective and the only way to remedy whatever, to the Democratic mind, President Roosevelt represents that is wrong, is to upbuild the Democratic party, and this cannot be done by permitting an unforgiving spirit to dominate the soul of wisdom."—*From the Brooklyn Eagle.*

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### DOES IT MEAN TROUBLE FOR MR. BRYAN?

Elsewhere besides in the South the belief is gaining ground that since the South supplies the Democratic party with the votes, as a matter of course the Presidential candidate of the Democracy should hail from below the Mason and Dixon line. So distinguished a personage as Colonel George Harvey, head of the house of Harper & Brothers, the editor of that brilliant exponent of public opinion, *Harper's Weekly*, in an address before a Charleston, South Carolina, audience Wednesday night of this week, delivered himself as follows: "Now is the time, and you of the South are the men, to act with promptness and wisdom. You are the mainstay, the living reality of Democracy. So many of us in the North come so near being Republicans in practice, and so many of us in the West come so near being Populists in theory, that the leadership rightfully belongs to the only section of the party which has kept the faith without suffering contamination, and under whose direction in the past the people enjoyed their greatest growth, their widest prosperity. The time is fitting. The blight of half a century is off the South. You have your manufactures, your mines, your agriculture, your railroads, your steamships, your schools, your happy homes, your Christian spirit—you have all that we have and more, because you have our respect and sympathy to a greater degree than we have yours. We ask you to take up the ark of the covenant and bear it to victory as of old. We seek now to follow, requiring only that forbearance which is the first attribute of brotherhood."

Colonel Harvey was talking strictly within the records when he reminded his hearers that they constituted the only visible Democratic party. "You," said he, "are the mainstay, the living reality of Democracy." Everywhere else, as he might have told them, the party is nothing but a memory, so far



as its delivering any electoral vote is concerned. Even in Mr. Bryan's own State, where reorganization would be expected to take its initial step, there is hardly so much as a remnant remaining of a once militant Democracy.

Perhaps Tora Watson, ultra Southern, is right in denying Colonel Bryan the right to reform the defeated hosts of Democracy. Being a Southerner himself, and as the South is the "living reality of Democracy" to-day, Mr. Watson feels, doubtless, that there is at least one man of greater availability than the noted Nebraskan, should the Democracy decide, as now seems probable it will, to take its next Presidential standard-bearer from Georgia, or some other State in the South.

If the kind of talk indulged in by Colonel Harvey shall bear fruit it is going to occasion Mr. Bryan no end of trouble to restore himself to his erstwhile position as leader and dictator of the national Democracy. Should the solid South oppose him with a leader of its own, supported, as he doubtless would be, by the anti-Bryan strongholds in the East, his plans for regaining his lost leadership would stand a most excellent chance of being rudely frustrated.—*From the St. Joseph, Missouri, Gazette.*

#### THE SOUTH MUST PREPARE TO LEAD

In considering the appeal to the South again to take the leadership of the national Democracy made by Colonel Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly* and *The North American Review*, the *Charleston Post* places as the greatest obstacle in the way of this section accepting that great responsibility our paucity in statesmanship. "There is the same material for employment in statesmanship in the South to-day as there was in the great days when the South led the Democracy that administered the affairs of the government so admirably," says the *Post*. "But," adds that paper, "it is not so employed. It is now being utilized to build up the industrial wealth of the South which has been so wonderfully increased and enriched. The men in political control and representation in the South to-day are generally of an inferior statesmanship. We cannot offer them as the South's leaders in the great work that is proposed to be given into our hands. The first step, therefore, towards taking up the charge that would be committed to the South under the programme outlined by Colonel Harvey should be the setting in order of our own political household." The *Post* admits this to be the most difficult part of the work. The problem of making public life attractive to the most serious students, to the most lofty-minded and talented citizens, is a difficult one. This does not imply that there are not a few of these men now in public life, but it is not attractive, and few of that character are encouraged to devote their lives to such work.

The *Post* is right as to the unpreparedness of the South with seasoned timber of the highest quality. A few weeks ago *The State* made a somewhat similar suggestion and offered in explanation our one party system which discourages development on broad lines, and the disregard of the suffragists for the qualifications of candidates. The incentive to laborious preparation for public life is removed when the man with the ballot disregards the equipment of candidates. The same energies devoted to the commercial field are certain of financial return, and so it is, as the *Post* says, that the best timber in the South is not to be found in the political lumber-yard. The problem of effecting a change is complicated. Voters will have to be educated from the stump as well as in the school-houses; men of higher stamp and greater endowments will have to turn patriots and offer themselves to the voters. They will probably be sacrificed for years, but they will in time discontinue the "pot-boiling" politicians, elevate the popular ideas, and build the road to statesmanship. It is comforting to believe in such results, and the sooner the beginning the sooner the accomplishment.—*From the Columbia, South Carolina, State.*

#### OFFERING THE CROWN

Colonel George Harvey revived in his Charleston address last night the ingenious pre-election legend of a Roosevelt "trying to solve all the complicated problems of nearly a hundred millions of human beings of every race, in

every time, within the short space of four years." But he may be forgiven that particular exercise of poetic license in return for his sensible and emphatic warning to Democrats: "Of all things, let us not arouse the resentment, just or unjust, of our countrymen by refusing to recognize the personal integrity of an opponent." What he had to say to this Southern audience about the things that concerned it most was tactful, sympathetic, and in places eloquent.

"Personally I do not think," said Colonel Harvey, "the Democratic party has been properly equipped to govern the nation since the civil war." It is for the South, where "the Democratic party produced a line of statesmen such as no nation has ever known," to lead the party as it once led it; "the West and the East have had their opportunities for forty years, and have failed." As the speaker urged: "You are prosperous. Soon you will be rich. You have taken your place by the side of the opulent East and the hustling West. You had the birth and breeding; you now have the wealth which in an Anglo-Saxon community has ever been essential to proper recognition and the full exercise of rightful prerogatives."

If these are the material grounds for a reassertion of Southern leadership, there are sentimental and moral grounds. "Is there not plainly observable" in the North, asks Colonel Harvey, "a new and fraternal consideration, a spirit of helpfulness in place of a feeling of vengeful reprisal?" He asks further, "In the recent campaign was there anywhere a single line written or spoken throughout the entire North and West designed to arouse slumbering prejudice and inflame forgotten passions?" So he concludes that if it will not "permit an unforgiving spirit to dominate the soul of wisdom," the field is clear for a re-entrance of the South into its old party leadership—"You are the mainstay, the living reality of Democracy"—and sums it all up in a sentence:

"You have your manufactures, your mines, your agriculture, your railroads, your steamships, your schools, your happy homes, your Christian spirit—you have all that we have and more, because you have our respect and sympathy to a greater degree than we have yours."

Although these words are addressed by a Democrat to Democrats, they are far more than a partisan message.—*From the New York Mail and Express.*

## AN APPEAL TO THE SOUTH

The Scotch Society of St. Andrew, of Charleston, South Carolina, held its annual banquet last Wednesday night. The chief speaker of the evening was Colonel Harvey, of New York. He began his oration by telling his audience that he knew they would be surprised to hear him say he was going to make them a political speech, rather than deliver an historical oration as has been the custom of the speakers on the occasion of the annual meetings of the society. His speech was political, but not of the kind that his hearers expected even after he had announced of what character it would be. We publish below some extracts from the speech. We regret that space does not permit of its reproduction in full in our columns. Our readers must bear in mind that Colonel Harvey is editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and a native of the State of Vermont. His subject was the true position of the South in the administration of the affairs of the national government.

We know that his words here reproduced will strike a sympathetic chord in the heart of every Southern man who cherishes ambitious sentiments for his section of the country and who has grown tired of the Southern people being hewers of wood and drawers of water for the leaders of the Democratic party in the Northern States.

When we say South in this connection we mean the Southern Democracy, which has for forty years bowed in every instance to the will of that portion of the party located north of Mason and Dixon's line.

A remarkable speech indeed was this when it is remembered that it was made by a New-Englander. The situation could not be more accurately sized up—especially his reference to the taint in the Democracy of the members

of the party in the North and in the West. In the Southern branch of the party only are to be found the true and uncontaminated principles of Democracy. The Southern Democrats have for too long a time submitted to the domination of party friends of the North on the ground that the Southern States have not yet been reconstructed and readmitted into the Union long enough for their leaders to take prominent position in the management of the politics of the nation. The time has come when the Democracy of the South must assert itself and demand just recognition at the hands of the Democracy of the North. The Southern Democracy should heed the appeal of this man from Vermont. His words should fire it to a determination to take its proper place in the political ranks of the nation and to assert itself in insisting on the course which it knows to be for the greatest good of the South and of the whole nation. We have been supine too long, caring only for supremacy in our State governments; accepting anything from the Democrats of the North, just so it was labelled "Democracy," just so long as we were allowed to control the affairs of our own States. Mr. Harvey's is a trumpet call to the Democrats of the South to arouse from their past political lethargy. There is a brilliant future before us if we will only make the exertion to work it out. Will we heed this call, or will we continue content to be at the beck and call of the Northern Democracy which we allow to dictate candidates and party platforms, but which does none of the voting, when the electoral colleges meet, but through selfish motives deserts the South and carries her Democracy down to defeat with it?—*From the Wilmington, North Carolina, Messenger.*

#### SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP

Colonel George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, in addressing the St. Andrew's Society at Charleston, did not follow the customary procedure of making an historical address, but confined himself to political reflections. Had he combined historical retrospection and political observation he would have undoubtedly added to the value of his admirable address. Colonel Harvey rightly told his Southern audience that the party created by their fathers had been repeatedly mismanaged and led to defeat by the East and West, and it was time for the South to reassume control of the national Democracy and hold it to the true and undeviable principles that vitalized it in the past.

But Colonel Harvey might have emphasized that of which he was probably not unmindful—that the South now has as its paramount problem the development of its industries, and that political leadership such as he presaged is impossible without that material basis of substantial prosperity that always claims the palm of control.

It must not be lost sight of that on account of the paramouncy of cotton as the staple industry of the South that section before the war was practically devoid of manufactures and showed little inventive talent. Almost everything that the South needed had to be bought in the North, which fattened off of the Southern States. Consequently, since the recuperation of the South from the effects of the war, it has had to face the long problem of securing an industrial status. This it has done with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the nation. But yet the resources of the South have had but surface scratching. The impetus that is now being experienced by this city, that has always stood in an intermediary trade relation between the South and the North, is of a piece with the industrial impulse being felt by all Southern centres.

In the patent fact of destined industrial leadership is to be found the real basis of any claim the South may make to political leadership. Colonel Harvey was not indulging in the "baseless fabric of a vision" when he painted the splendid political possibilities of the Southern States, nor was he indulging in platitudes when he complimented the South upon its Americanism.

That section is the God's country of the future, and keen-visioned seers from the North are united in tendering it a prophetic "All Hail!"—*From the Baltimore, Maryland, Herald.*

## THE SOUTH CALLED ON TO COMMAND

In his address before the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, on Wednesday night, Colonel George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, said the reason the Democratic party was beaten so badly in the recent election was that the people haven't confidence in its ability to govern. In the East the Democrat is too near a Republican and in the West too near a Populist. Only in the South is the genuine Democrat found. The East or the West has been in control of the party for the past forty years and the South has done the voting, has silently accepted whatever the East or the West said was Democratic doctrine. So long as anything bore the Democratic label the South accepted it, even though her statesmen realized the labelled doctrines were not statesmanlike and wouldn't touch the hearts and gain the confidence of the people.

The palmy days of the Democratic party, in Colonel Harvey's opinion, the days when it dominated the country, made and administered the laws, was when its leaders were Southern men. He felt sure that if the South were to take command of the party again it would have the confidence of the people, and would win victories that would compare with any it had won in the past. The people, said Colonel Harvey, are ready for moral issues, and the time is ripe for them. "The struggle between an impatient President and reluctant representatives of special interests is inevitable," and the time is here for the men of the South to act with promptness and wisdom.

We have been contending all along that the time was coming when the South would dominate the Democratic party and that then the party would be the power it had been in its best days. Colonel Harvey was right in saying that it was nonsense to suppose the party was dead. It has had as great defeats as it had in November last, and it came to the front again as strong as ever. That will be its record again.—*From the Savannah, Georgia, News.*

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## THE SOUTH'S FUTURE

As the South stands in the political solitude created by its own vote at the late election, there is a deal of discussion concerning its political future—particularly among men who take little or no active part in politics. That last is said in no spirit of derision. The time immediately following a quadrennial registering of the national will is peculiarly the property of the political academist, and the thoughts and theories which he then voices come to play large parts in more strenuous days oftener than the managers of campaigns find time to admit.

One is moved to doubt, however, that recent utterances of Dr. Woodrow Wilson and Colonel George Harvey—to take two of the most prominent men who have essayed to deal with Southern prospects—will even echo in the solution. Both Dr. Wilson and Colonel Harvey appeal to the South, as the only section which polled Democratic majorities, to make itself the nucleus of a conservative Democracy. Let it, they urge, take the organization into its own hands, and prepare for battle under its own leaders.

Both of these gentlemen seem to overlook two important facts. First, the South, even including, with the eleven States which seceded, the States of Kentucky and Louisiana, contains less than one-third of the voting strength of the Democratic party. Second, a large portion of that one-third has for the basis of its allegiance to the Democratic party ethnological rather than economic grounds.

Of course, it is impossible to estimate accurately the number of Southerners who vote the Democratic ticket because of the race question, but who are in accord with the politico-economic principles of the Republican party. That it is a very considerable proportion no one familiar with the trend of Southern thought will deny.

As we understand the Wilson-Harvey idea, it assumes that there is room and need in the country for a Democratic party of the Cleveland stripe. With the election returns fresh in mind this assumption is a bit gratuitous. But, conceding it has other basis than wish-bred thought—conceding that the almost chimerical abstractions, which are the sole distinguishing marks by

which we may separate Cleveland Democrats from a certain class of Republicans, are stuff for the regeneration of the Democracy—where is the reason for belief that the centre of such regeneration lies in the South?

A section that is Democratic because of a local condition rather than because of devotion to any innate principle of Democracy is hardly the recruiting-ground for an advance guard of another reorganization—if that reorganization is to create a positive force in national politics.

So far as the future of the South, political or otherwise, is concerned, it lies in the direction of desectionalization. Those within or without its borders who insist upon regarding it as a geographical or political place apart from the rest of the Union, merely contribute their mites toward obstructing an inevitable progress.—*From the Philadelphia North American.*

#### ADVICE TO SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS

Within the last few days a Virginian and a Vermonter have pointed out that both the East and the West have failed to shape effectively the course of the national Democracy, and that the time has come for Southern Democrats to resume the helm of their party and steer it into the haven of success. We refer to the speeches made by President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University at a dinner of the Society of the Virginians in this town and by Colonel George Harvey, the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, at a dinner of the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, South Carolina. As both men are known to be staunch in the Democratic faith and warm friends of the South, their suggestions will receive throughout that part of the Union much and earnest attention.

Dr. Woodrow Wilson would have the South, as the only remaining fraction of the Democratic party that can command a majority of the votes in its constituencies, demand a rehabilitation of the party on the only lines that can restore it to dignity and power. To that end he would have Southern Democrats read out of the party as aliens and interlopers the Populists and radical theorists who for eight years have been dominant. To that end he would have Southern Democrats admit to fraternal union only those citizens of the East and the West who wish for reform without loss of stability, and who will join in reaffirming the principles and in reverting to the practices of the historical party. Dr. Wilson reminded his fellow Virginians that the old Democratic party had stood by the South through good report and ill, and it was now, he said, the duty of the South to requite that fidelity by recalling the party to its old counsels and reinfusing in it the spirit of its prime.

To Colonel Harvey, speaking at Charleston, it seemed equally patent that at last the opportunity of Southern Democrats had come. The resurrection of the Democratic party must be looked for, he said, from the part of the Union that gave it birth. For forty years the South had accepted in national conventions whatever had been offered by the East or by the West. Was there ever witnessed, asked Colonel Harvey, such patient bending to the yoke on the part of a free and enlightened people—a people, too, that used to be described as masterful?

The recent Republican victory he described as largely Mr. Roosevelt's personal triumph, but partly also as the outcome of a feeling among independent voters and Democratic themselves that the Democratic party has not in recent years demonstrated a capacity of governing wisely and well.

If, however, said Colonel Harvey, the party is to regain the approval of a majority of the American people, the work of rejuvenation to be undertaken by Southern Democrats must begin at the bottom, and the only foundation upon which to build is a moral one. It was on a moral issue that Samuel J. Tilden swept the State of New York and subsequently gained a plurality of the popular vote throughout the Union. It was on a moral issue that Grover Cleveland carried the State of New York in 1884 and thus secured the Presidency. It was on a moral issue that Foik was chosen the other day Governor of Missouri, and if Douglas obtained the Governorship in Massachusetts, which gave a plurality of 80,000 for the Republican national ticket, it was due to the fact that he stood for the welfare of the many as against that of the few.

Colonel Harvey closed, as he began, with reminding the men of the South that they constituted the mainstay, the backbone, the living reality of Democ-

racy. Many Northern Democrats come so near to being Republicans in practice, and many Western Democrats so near being Populists in theory, that the leadership of the party belongs rightfully to the only section of it which has kept the faith without suffering contamination. For that reason he contended that Northern and Western Democrats should be willing now to follow, should urge, indeed, their Southern brethren to lead, to take up the ark of the covenant and bear it to victory as of old.

The only condition that Colonel Harvey would impose upon the resumption of leadership by the Southern Democrats is that they would bear the banner of their party along the broad path of tolerance and enlightenment, of progress and Christianity, of belief in man and faith in God, out of the darkness of despair into the sunlight of hope and confidence. By this, we suppose, Colonel Harvey means that the Solid South should escape from its political provincialism and become potent in determining consistently and broadly national policies for the Democratic party, instead of voting blindly and stubbornly for any policies, no matter how contradictory, which may seem expedient to Democratic conventions from election to election.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the vast majority of Democratic votes are cast at the North and in the Border States outside of the Solid South, as it is strictly defined.

In 1900 the eleven States of the old Southern Confederacy contributed less than thirty per cent. to the total Democratic poll. Moreover, Southern solidity is due solely to the race question. On strictly national questions the South is only nominally Democratic, as so many of our Southern correspondents have pointed out. Before the civil war the Whig party was powerful there, and still the policy of protection finds wide favor in the South. Can, then, the Democratic party be called more homogeneous at the South than at the North? Unquestionably, however, the spirit of the South is hopefully conservative.—*From the New York Sun.*

#### A CALL TO THE SOUTH

Colonel George Harvey, editor of the *North American Review* and of *Harper's Weekly*, in the latter of which editorial capacities he has in a short time acquired the reputation of being the most brilliant contemporary critic of political affairs in the country, made a great speech the other evening at the annual banquet of the St. Andrew's Society in Charleston, South Carolina. A New-Yorker of New-Yorkers, a typical representative of the intellectual and successful business men of the metropolis, Colonel Harvey sounded a clarion call to the South to resume in the politics of the nation the initiative which was once recognized as her right and privilege. As a Democrat addressing Democrats, a friend counselling friends, he said to his Southern audience:

"But while the East and West have alternately and with the precision of the setting sun carried the party down to defeat, what has the South been doing? You have taken whatever has been offered to you and with hardly a wry face. If free silver was tendered, you swallowed that; if the gold standard, you took that; protection or free trade, a radical or a conservative candidate, big navies or little navies, big sticks or mellow flutes, whatever grist came to your mill was accepted so long as it bore the party label. You are sometimes called, and, I think, unquestionably are, in some respects, a masterful and intolerant community, but was such patient bending to the yoke as this ever before exhibited by a free and enlightened people? I am aware of the local condition which gave rise to and perhaps made necessary this abdication of authority even in the councils of the party created by your ancestors, but I ask you if the time is not now at hand to come back into your own, to claim the opportunity exercised so long and so disastrously by others, to reassert the broad statesmanship of the past, and to blaze the way for a return to the sturdy principles of the fathers?"

This is in admirable spirit. It should receive attentive consideration. There is a well-defined sentiment in the South that this section should stop playing second fiddle in politics by preference. It has been well said since the election



that if the Presidential candidate of the Democracy had been a Southern man, the party would certainly have done as well as it did and would perhaps have done better.

Regarding our local issues as under permanent local control, we need in the South to take a national hand in national politics, creating a healthful independence of influence in the affairs of the country. It is pleasant to know that we have such warm friends and admirers in the North as Colonel Harvey shows himself to be. If there are very many like him up there, it will not be so difficult for the programme which he outlines to be put into effect. At any rate, we believe that the doctrine of Colonel Harvey is far better for the South than the reported pessimistic plaint of Senator Bacon of Georgia, that the course of national politics makes the South despair and feel as if she has been ostracised from the country of which she technically forms a part. We do not believe that the majority of Southerners are cast down; on the contrary, we believe that the majority of them are hopeful and cheerful.—*From the Norfolk, Virginia, Landmark.*

#### A CALL TO THE SOUTH

Colonel George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, made a noteworthy address in Charleston, South Carolina, the other day, the occasion being the 175th annual banquet of the St. Andrew's Society of that city. Colonel Harvey did not make the expected historical address, but handed out about as interesting a budget of politics as a Southern audience has listened to for some time.

The *Post* reproduces a striking portion of his speech:

"Henceforth let every issue be a moral issue, and let us have no further appeals or catering to any specific odds or ends or shreds or patches, and of all things let us not arouse the resentment, just or unjust, of our countrymen by refusing to recognize the personal integrity of an opponent.

"The fact is certain! Whatever may be the result of an inevitable struggle between an impatient President and reluctant representatives of special interests, it behooves the Democratic party to take heed from the fate of the foolish virgins. Now is the time, and you of the South are the men to act with promptness and wisdom. You are the mainstay, the living reality of Democracy. So many of us in the North come so near being Republicans in practice, and so many of us in the West come so near being Populists in theory, that the leadership rightfully belongs to the only section of the party which has kept the faith without suffering contamination, and under whose direction in the past the people enjoyed their greatest growth, their widest prosperity.

"The time is fitting. The blight of half a century is off the South. You have your manufactures, your mines, your agriculture, your railroads, your steamships, your schools, your happy homes, your Christian spirit—you have all that we have and more, because you have our respect and sympathy to a greater degree than we have yours. We ask you to take up the ark of the covenant and bear it to victory, as of old. We seek now to follow, requiring only that forbearance which is the first attribute of brotherhood."

This is all quite complimentary to the Southern Democracy, but is no more than we have claimed for it, even when misguided newspapers were constantly charging us with being a people of small conception of political principles. But as nice and soothing as Colonel Harvey's words are, the doubt that necessarily troubles one in estimating their importance is whether Colonel Harvey speaks with authority.

The Southern Democracy is essentially a party of principles, and in the South these principles are plainly manifest in the State governments. We have the most economical State governments in the Union, lower taxation, and laws which not only rigidly safeguard the interests of the public, but which control as far as the State is permitted to control the relations which exist between the citizen and the corporation.

It is not meant to say that our governments are perfect: far from it, but the old ideals are preserved much better in the South than in other sections of the country.

To the mind of the Southern Democrat, protective tariffs present a moral issue, and that was expressed in the St. Louis platform when a tariff for protection was denounced as robbery. The trust question to the Southern mind presents a moral issue, for in reality it involves the principle contained in the Eighth Commandment. The ship subsidy bill appears to the Southern Democrat as a moral issue, and to a certain extent the pension question.

The South has a keener perception of the immorality of protection, pension frauds, and other forms of privilege for which the Republican party stands, because it has been compelled to bear its share of the burden without getting a fair share of the loot. If everybody was robbed alike, there would be no advantage in the robbery. Honesty would pay just as well and look better.

The *Post* is glad that the South has not been contaminated so generally by the vicious system of privilege, for in all likelihood, had she shared in these advantages, her moral perceptions would not have been so strong. Of course we have not escaped entirely. The trail of the serpent appears here and there, but not to the extent it has afflicted the North.

We shall take Colonel Harvey's call to the South under advisement. We have plenty of leadership material and we have positive views as to what constitutes democracy. In the spring of 1908, the time for action, the South will see what it can do to extricate the Northern Democracy from the bog into which it has fallen.—*From the Houston, Texas, Post.*

### THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Colonel George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, the *North American Review*, *Harper's Magazine*, and of about a half-dozen other great periodicals, recently spoke at a banquet in Charleston, advising the Democrats of the South to take the lead in the reorganization of the National Democratic party. This advice comes, perhaps, a little late to do the Democrats very much good in the 1904 election.

The *Norfolk Dispatch* advised the same thing last spring and last summer, nor did its advice do the Democratic party very much good. One of the reasons for this is because its advice was not taken.

There is nothing quite as irritating in this world as an "I told you so," there is nothing forgotten much sooner than advice of which we disapprove and which we do not wish to follow. Of course, there may be other reasons for the Democracy's defeat besides its not following the counsel of the *Dispatch*. This paper realized that the patient was a pretty sick one, but it did not like the medicine which Mr. Hill and Mr. Belmont wished to prescribe and from the first opposed the programme for the Parkerization of the Democratic party.

Perhaps the only signal result of its fight was to prevent the Democratic party of Virginia instructing in open convention for Judge Parker. Unless the *Dispatch* had taken the stand that it did, with practically all the leading politicians of the State hot Parkerites, and practically all the leading papers either tacitly consenting to or openly advocating the instruction of the Virginia delegation for Parker, the State would have had a worse record in the reorganization business than was actually achieved for her by that type of leadership which was tired of being out and wanted to win.

Colonel Harvey was right outspoken with his Charleston audience. He declared that the West and the East had had their control of the party for forty years and had failed. He stated that the South had swallowed everything that had been handed out to it. Said he: "If free silver was tendered, you swallowed that; if the gold standard, you took that; protection or free trade, a radical or a conservative candidate, big navies or little navies, big sticks or mellow flutes, whatever grist came to your mill, was accepted so long as it bore the party label.

"You are sometimes referred to and, I think, unquestionably are, in some respects, a masterful and intolerant community, but was such a patient bending to the yoke as this ever before exhibited by a free and enlightened people? I am aware of the local condition which gave rise to and perhaps made

necessary this abdication of authority even in the councils of the party created by your ancestors, but I ask you if the time is not now at hand to come back into your own, to claim the opportunity exercised so long and so disastrously by others, to reassert the broad statesmanship of the past, and to blaze the way for a return to the sturdy principles of the fathers?"

Colonel Harvey pointed the lesson that the only foundation on which to build in the confidence of the American people is by appealing to their moral sensibilities.

He pointed out that President Roosevelt had run 'way ahead of his ticket in many of the States which he carried, because his personality appealed to the moral force of the people. In several States which gave him their votes, Democratic Governors had been elected because of their appeal to the moral force of the people.

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Said he: "Herein lies the lesson for the future: henceforth let every issue be a moral issue, and let us have no further appeal or catering to any specific odds or ends or shreds or patches. Of all those, let us not arouse the resentment, just or unjust, of our countrymen by refusing to recognize the personal integrity of an opponent.

"You are the living mainstay, the living reality of Democracy. So many of us in the North come so near being Republican in practice, and so many of us in the West come so near being Populists in theory, that the leadership rightfully belongs to the only section of the party which has kept the faith without suffering contamination, and under whose direction in the past the people enjoyed their greatest growth, their widest prosperity.

"The time is fitting. The blight of half a century is off the South. You have your manufactures, your mines, your agriculture, your railroads, your steamships, your schools, your happy homes, your Christian spirit—you have all we have and more, because you have our respect and sympathy to a greater degree than we have yours.

"We ask you to take up the ark of the covenant and bear it to victory as of old. We seek now to follow, requiring only more forbearance, which is the first attribute of brotherhood."

Fair dealing as between man to man, bending to the practical and to conditions as they are—a brave meeting of the great problem of the control by money of the election of public men and the use of money to obtain public legislation, directly or indirectly, an insistence upon a broad Americanism, an adherence to the radicalism of Jefferson and Jackson, a belief in the saving common sense of the plain people—let the Democracy outline all of these things in its platform and nominate a man of real force and ability and of tried integrity. Thus, and thus only, will the Democratic party be restored to power in our country. It may require eight years, it may only require four years, but without sound qualities and principles the party never can win, and it is better that it never should win. The party is a creature of the people, owes its existence to them. Too many of us would let the Democratic party be our master, rather than adopt toward it the proper attitude of making it our servant.—*From the Norfolk, Virginia, Dispatch.*

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Colonel George Harvey, of New York, and the house of Harper & Brothers, was the guest of the St. Andrews Society, in Charleston, South Carolina, last evening, and deepened the warmth of his welcome by declaring that the next Democratic candidate for the Presidency should come from the South. He appealed to that section as "the mainstay, the living reality of Democracy," to take command. "We seek now to follow," was Colonel Harvey's confident announcement. He was ardent and eloquent, and wise in advising the South to bear itself generously toward President Roosevelt. The dazed Democracy of all sections will continue to wait on events, and take plenty of time to think about the future. Meanwhile Colonel Harvey's vision of Southern leadership will help brighten the prospect in that section.—*From the Springfield, Massachusetts, Republican.*

## A NORTHERN APPEAL TO THE SOUTH

Colonel George Harvey, the present editor of *Harper's Weekly*, a native of Vermont and a lifelong Democrat, made an address at a recent banquet of the St. Andrew's Society at Charleston, South Carolina, in which he eloquently appealed to the South to take the lead of the Democratic party.

He recalled the past record of the party under Southern leadership before the civil war. "The West and the East," he said, "have had their opportunities for forty years and have failed. Now what of the South? Here the Democratic party had its birth, here it produced a line of statesmen such as no nation has ever known. Of the fifteen administrations ending in 1861 all but two were Democratic, and of these thirteen terms nine were served by Southern men and six by the founders of the party—Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe. While the South, as represented by these great men, was in the saddle, there was no suggestion of unfitness to govern. Adherence to principle, sagacity in statesmanship, conservatism in action, faithful endeavor in the interests of the entire country, won and held the confidence of the people to such a degree that, through all the vicissitudes of internecine strife and an unparalleled succession of reverses at the polls, that great party survived, still lives, and, please God, shall never die."

He mentions several causes of the recent Democratic Waterloo, "but," he adds, "the fundamental underlying cause, more potent than all of these combined, was a deep-seated conviction in the minds of thinking men that the National Democratic party has not in recent years demonstrated a capacity to govern wisely and well. And, having in mind particularly its record for the past twelve years, can we honestly deny the existence of a reasonable justification for that belief?"

Noting this, the *Courier-Journal* does not think that Colonel Harvey is wholly logical in his contention that the South alone is in a position to restore the confidence of the country in the Democratic party.

That party, he truly declares, has become "an aggregation of odds and ends, of shreds of theories and patches of practicability." But is the South less responsible for this than other parts of the country? It seems to us that Mr. Harvey, without intending to do so, answers this question further on in his address, when he says:

"But while the East and West have alternately and with the precision of the setting sun carried the party down to defeat, what has the South been doing? You have taken whatever has been offered to you and with hardly a wry face. If free silver was tendered, you swallowed that; if the gold standard, you took that; protection or free trade, a radical or a conservative candidate, big navies or little navies, big sticks or mellow flutes, whatever grist came to your mill was accepted so long as it bore the party label. You are sometimes called, and I think, unquestionably are, in some respects a masterful and intolerant community, but was such patient bending to the yoke as this ever before exhibited by a free and enlightened people? I am aware of the local condition which gave rise to and perhaps made necessary this abdication of authority even in the councils of the party created by your ancestors, but I ask you if the time is not now at hand to come back into your own, to claim the opportunity exercised so long, and so disastrously by others, to reassert the broad statesmanship of the past and to blaze the way for a return to the sturdy principles of the fathers?"

No intelligent and candid Southern man will deny that this indictment is largely justifiable. Since the war the South has accepted anything the Democratic party chose to present simply because the war left to the South an issue which, in the minds and lives of Southern people, overshadowed all other issues, and on which the Democratic party seemed the only party with which the South could stand. Thus to-day when Colonel Harvey invokes the South to take up the Democratic leadership which has proved abortive in other hands and to rebuild the Democratic party on Democratic principles, he invokes a people in whose loyalty to Democratic principles the country cannot unreservedly confide because there has been no opportunity to put that

loyalty to a fair test, and because, on the other hand, all sorts of principles have been swallowed by them as Democratic in their attitude of self-protection against the racial menace which they have believed to be held over them by the Republican party.

Aside from this motive for opposing the Republican party, Colonel Harvey cannot know whether the South is really Democratic or not. The *Courier-Journal*, which probably has better opportunities than he for information on this point, does not know. The South is solid on nothing except self-protection from this racial menace. If that had never been, or if it were absolutely removed, no one could say how the South would stand on the political and economic questions of the age. Certainly the South was not solid for the Democratic party in the days when Southern leadership did so much for that party. The Whig party, no less than the Democratic party, was indebted to the South, and there is everything to indicate that if the Southern whites felt free to-day to vote on all issues in accordance with their convictions no one party could count on their support.

If the Democratic party has been since the war a thing of shreds and patches, it is still a thing of shreds and patches in the South. The ablest Southern Democrats who, if the party in the South were in condition to assume the responsibility which Colonel Harvey would have it assume, would alone be the men equal to that task, have been discredited and sent to the rear. Remove the racial menace and the Democratic party as it exists now in the South would fall to pieces. From the pieces would arise both a vigorous Democratic party, inspired by Democratic principles, and a vigorous Republican party, and the South would then be in position to lend leadership, not only to the Democrats of the nation, but to the Republicans of the nation.

Colonel Harvey contends that this menace no longer exists. Then God-speed to him and other patriotic men of the North in convincing the South of that. But in order to do that he must bring more conclusive proof than Mr. Root's speech two years ago, and the approval with which that was heard by a Northern audience. He must satisfy the Southern people that the demand for legislation against the South made in the platform of the Republican party and proposed in bills before Congress is nothing more than the vaporing of powerless partisan agitators. He assures the South of the North's sympathy and desire for brotherhood. "Your problems," he says, "are our problems, your hopes our hopes, your fears our fears, and ours are yours. I appeal to you not to put up warning hands and say 'Thus far, but no farther,' but with the whole-hearted, trustful, fraternal, and generous spirit of chivalric natures stretch your arms away over the line and bid us welcome."

Amen! The *Courier-Journal* believes, with Colonel Harvey, that there is no real division between the North and the South to-day: it believes that if the Northern people do not fully understand and sympathize with the attitude of the Southern whites on the question of race they are fast coming to do so. But it is not possible fully to convince the South of that as long as such propositions for discriminative legislation against the South as urged by the Platts and Crumpackers are not disowned by the party which controls every section of the country except the South.

When that shall be finally done we shall have a South qualified not only for Democratic leadership, but for Republican leadership as well.—*From the Louisville Courier-Journal.*

















